M /ii cont'd/
1/4 for a comparatively longer period and had collected more material, I obtained special permission from the chief of our commission to use the materials in my private possession in writing up two books: Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island/ and this small volume entitled Hainan Tao Chih Miao-jen /The Miao of Hainan Island/.

M H 122 114 /iii/ We spent four months on this expedition—leaving Canton on February 4, 1937, and returning to the University on June 4 of the same year. Excluding the time spent in traveling and a short delay caused by illness, we were actually in direct contact with the aborigines for more than two months. During these two months or so, we spent about three-fourths of the time in the study of the Li and only one fourth in the study of the Miao. The reason for this H [101] was very simple: the Li were the chief aboriginal people of Hainan, and also Hainan was the only native locale of the Li people. It can truly be said of the Li people: "This is the only establishment; there are no other branches!" It was hence wholly fitting that we made them the chief subject of our studies. The study of the Miao was only incidental. Since our working time was so short, our investigation of the Miao was limited to a group of Miao villages in the vicinity of the Ta-ch'i area of Pao-t'ing hsien /district/. This book is the result of a study of this small area within a short period. The contents of this volume, of course, are far from satisfactory. Fortunately, however, we have touched upon every phase of the Miao's life. By reading this book, the reader will have no difficulty H in comprehending the general way of life of an individual Miao.

M 101 The Li and Miao have lived intermingled for several centuries. With this uninterrupted contact with each other, it was inescapable that they mutually influenced each other. Furthermore, the lives of both have progressed along a common road of sinicization. Therefore, it can be observed everywhere that the present ways of M 114 life and cultural patterns of the Li and Miao are identical in many ways. To avoid repetition, I have only summarized in this book [128] those points which I have already discussed in detail in my previous

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Chapter I. Origin, Distribution, and Population

101 162 Owing to the scarcity of historical records concerning the Miao of Hainan Island, while people have been aware that there are Li on Hainan Island, they knew nothing about the Miao there. The scarcity of historical records was due to the fact that the Miao are not natives 167 101 of Hainan. All the Miao now living on Hainan migrated from outside areas in recent times. What were these areas from which they migrated? There is a statement in Volume 20 of Ch'iung-chou Fu [113] Chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chow Prefecture/ published in the Tao-kuang period /1821-1850/:

101 [161] "There are also the Miao-Li people of Tan-chou about 90 or more families living in ten villages; including men and women they number less than one thousand. They live in the vicinity of Feng-hsü t'ung* and are also subject to the administration of the Li Tsung

[104]

/* T'ung is the term used for a district inhabited by aboriginal tribes. — Ed./

[181] /the Li magistrate/ of the said Feng-hsü t'ung. By nature they are very submissive. Occasionally, they trade in the T'iao-nan market; 101 they have never caused any trouble. Previously in the Ming period 175 /1388-1644/ when the Li uprisings were suppressed in Lo-huo t'ung and when the walled city of Lo-an was being built, Miao troops of Kwangsi province were sent there as a garrison. They were then called nu-shou /"crossbowmen"/. Later they moved to Tan-chou, and the present Miao living there are their descendants."

They are also mentioned in Volume 13 of Kan-en Hsien Chih /Annals of Kan-en District/ published in the Republican period:

[181] "Within the area of Kan-en district, there are also several hundred families of the Miao-Li, who, in recent times, have increased prolifically and dispersed to various places. They are by nature very submissive and have never caused any trouble. Previously during the Ming period, when the two rebellious t'ungs—Lo-huo and Pao-yu—

/1 cont'd/

were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and

*/Former title of a lieutenant colonel.--Ed./

Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

/2 cont'd/
101 in the Ch'ang-hua Hsien Chih /Annals of Ch'ang-Hua District/,
175 published in the Kuang-hsü period /1875-1908/. It is to be noted that the story in this text was based on the historical facts of the suppression of the Li uprisings led by Fu-nan-she in Ch'i fang t'ung in Tan-chou in the fourteenth year of Hung-chih (1501) of Emperor Hsiao-tsung.

In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Cheng T'ing-ku stated:

"... In the past the ringleaders of the uprisings were only the rebels in the Ch'iang-shih-sung area. Their strength was rather isolated. At the present, however, they are allied with the bandits in the Ch'ang-hua and Kan-en areas. Their forces have been increasing from day to day. If we advance our troops, we must transfer the Lang-mu and raise Ta-shou troops, and thus have several tens of thousands for re-inforcements." (See Cheng T'ing-ku's Shih-hu I-chi /Collected Works of Shih-hu*/. The author lived during the Chia-

/* This is Cheng's hao, or literary name.—Ed./

ching period of Emperor Shih-tsung (1522-1566) of the Ming dynasty.)

In every aspect, there are points of very noticeable difference between the two tribes, the Li and the Miao. They cannot be discussed as if they are of one people. The name Li-Miao, however, appears both in the Ch'iung-chou Fu-chih /Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture/ and the Kan-en Hsien-chih /Annals of Kan-en District/, which treat the Miao as a branch of the Li people. It is quite obviously an error. Nevertheless, both annals give a clear description concerning the place from which the Miao migrated and the period and circumstances of their migration. According to the Tao-kuang /1821-51/ edition of the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, the Li uprisings during the Ming period became serious only after the reign of Emperor Hsiao-tsung, for instance, the Li rebellion led by Fu-nan-she in Ch'i-fang Tung in Tan-chou in the fourteenth year of Hung-chih (1501). After the first year of Cheng-teh (1506) of Emperor Wu-tsung, and other t'ungs in Yai-chou revolted several times, and the government

/2 cont'd/

101 also repeatedly sent out numerous troops to suppress them. Miao
175 troops must have been sent there at various times during this period. Hence, it has been only about 500 years since the Miao migrated to Hainan. There are some additional primary sources which show that the Miao migrated from Kwangsi province. /3/ During my last field trip to the Miao area, I acquired the family register of a certain Lin family, in which there is the following statement:

127 "This is a certified copy of the register of the family and its
101 branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-an Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien /sic/ province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Min-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They lived on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, [illegible] Te-lung, Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. X-X had only one son, Lin Lao-chang, who was born at noon time, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng. Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to 9 A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

At the same time I obtained another important document from the family of a Miao headman, which concerns the origin of the Miao. It is copied as follows:

"With the approval of the Heavenly Emperor,
While the world is in peace.

101 Our ancestors for generations have been the descendants of P'an.
175 The Prince and his followers of Peking entered Ch'i-hsien T'ung in the K'uai-chi Mountains after falling into adversity. They proliferated down to the time when our imperial ancestor P'an's descendants went out and settled down in every district. Emperor Ch'u-p'ing issued them a grant certificate to the law-abiding mountain people, permitting them to go at will to the deep recesses of the mountains where only birds had been living, from where they could look out over the clear mountains and make their living. Moreover, they were neither subject to Imperial taxation, nor forced labor, nor harassment by troops. They could cut wood in the forests and could use ferries without paying. The Chinese people were not allowed to

/3 cont'd/

101 175 burn incense and candles at their altars and temples; nor were the Chinese allowed to associate with them. Chinese peasants were not to take their women by force as wives. /The original text is: "...were not to take their t'ien-tzu...." T'ien-tzu literally means "son of heaven." It probably is a miswriting of nü-tzu which means woman. —Tr./ Any violaters of this rule were to be sent to the government to be tried and sentenced. The certificate indicated that the mountain people had their own boundaries and should not farm in the Chinese peasants' fields or ponds. They had their own region of secluded cliffs, mountains, and peaks. Monkeys were their companions and birds were their neighbors. They hunted on the mountains and made their living by cutting wood and planting. The Chinese were not allowed to cause trouble to them. Those who did were to be sent to be tried and sentenced by the officials at the district courts. The certificate conferred on our imperial ancestors was originally issued to the descendants of our ancestor P'an. Each law-abiding mountain person received a copy of it. They were not to feed the Imperial treasury. They were to watch over the mountain fields. Their bird guns, bows, and crossbows were to be used only for hunting wild boars, horses, and deer. Since they are law-abiding, when they move or pass through the various districts, they must be allowed to pass freely by the collectors of transit tolls. This was the certificate issued to our ancestors, and here is a copy. To whom it may concern.

It is certified as above.

217 175 /4/ The honorable titles of those in the Royal Court who recommended this certificate are as follows:

Recommended by the Department of Certification of Documents of the Royal Court

Recommended by the President of the Board of Civil Appointment

Recommended by the President of the Board of War

Recommended by the President of the Board of Public Works

Recommended by the President of the Board of Rites

Recommended by the President of the Board of Punishments

Recommended by the President of the Board of Finance

It is hereby recommended that the descendants of our imperial ancestor P'an, in accordance with this imperial certificate of the

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171 lived in Ling-yün district since before the Ming period, we may not be too far off in concluding accordingly that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Ling-yün district in Kwangsi province. (It is to be noted that Ling-yün is in the northwestern part of Kwangsi, which is adjacent to the southwestern part of Kweichou and north-
171 eastern part of Yünnan. In the Ming period, this area was under the
175 jurisdiction of Szŭ-ch'eng and T'u-chou and was occupied completely by the aboriginal peoples.) Furthermore, we can also adduce some evidence from the above cited family register of the Lin family of the Hainan Miao, which states: "They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious." /8/ It is worth noting that there was a Szu-en Fu in the Ch'ing period; it was also called Szu-en Fu in the Ming period. During the Sung and Yüan periods, it was called Szu-en chou. Since the Republic, it has been under the jurisdiction of Nan-ning tao /district/. Its location is in the northern part of Kwangsi adjacent to the southern part of Kweichou. From ancient times, it has been a land of uncivilized wilderness. At the end of the Hung-chih period (1488-1505) of the Emperor Hsiao-tsung of the Ming period, it was brought under the liu system /i.e., it became a normal administrative unit under the local government/. It is beyond doubt that the "Szu-en Fu" written in the family register of the Lins is a miswriting of the above "Szu-en Fu" /the "Szŭ" in the register is indicated by a different character. —Ed./. Hence, there should be no question that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Szŭ-en Fu of Kwangsi, although until we have historical documents and reports from firsthand investigation; we cannot be sure whether the Lan-tien Yao people lived in the Szŭ-en Fu area during the Ming and Ch'ing periods or whether a part of them is there at the present time. This is all we can say about the question concerning the part of Kwangsi from which the Miao migrated to Hainan.

101 However, there is another question confronting us. Since the
171 Miao of Hainan Island originally were derived from the Yao of

/8 cont'd/

Kwangsi, why, after their migration to Hainan Island, did all the local annals, and even they themselves, call them "Miao"? At present, I am still unable to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps, the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi were originally of the same people but had different names, or perhaps the present Yao of Kwangsi were called Miao in former times. This question already involves all the peoples of southwest China and even becomes an important problem in the history of the Chinese people.

Now, let us discuss the geographical distribution of the Miao of Hainan Island. The Annals of Kan-en District /see above/ states: "(The Miao people) never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice.... They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again." At present the situation is still the same (for details see Chapter 3 of this book). Because of this kind of moving about, it is absolutely impossible for us to study their fixed geographical distribution. As for the distribution of the Miao recorded in the old local annals, in addition to what has already been cited about Tan-chou and Kan-en, (the annals of Ch'iung-chou Fu, Vol. 20, states that there was only one Miao village in Tan-chou, called Ta-shan Miao which was under the jurisdiction of the Li-tsung /magistrate/ of Lung-t'ou-t'ung), the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, (Vol. 20) states that there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district under the jurisdiction of the /9/ chief of the military settlement of T'ung-t'ung. The names of the five villages were as follows:

The Upper Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Lower Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Residence of the Fan-fou Miao
The Upper Residence of the Shui-shang Miao
The Lower Residence of the Shui-shang Miao

Since the original reason why the Miao came was for the suppression of the Li uprisings in Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs, and for guarding the military post of Lo-an, Lo-an beyond doubt must have been their first large encampment. Although they subsequently

/22/

191
184

	Miao Words of Yai district	Miao Words of Lin-kao district
one	ji	a
two	in	i
three	dam	to
four	se	ti
five	ngn	ta
six	luk	cho
ear		nann
eye		ngan
mouth		yup
nose		cham

/23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

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1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival, the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover, the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly limited their agricultural development. However, the dense mountain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

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/116 cont'd/
H 648 response to it was cool, and no enthusiasm was shown. However, the especially negative attitude of the few Li leaders of the landlord group was for different reasons. Previously, these Li leaders were landlords who held enormous mountain landholdings with rich animal yields. They were the privileged class in the society, who could act like kings. For the preservation their special privileges and standing, they were opposed to any outside influence. This situation was clearly reflected in the antagonism between the district government and the Li leaders. The movement against the purchase of land by returned overseas Chinese which was said to have been initiated by the populace in reaction to the threat to their existence, might also have been due to the selfish motives of a few Li leaders who wanted to preserve their personal interests. Therefore, we must make a thorough investigation of such complex internal conditions, in order to get a real explanation of anything that concerns the Li.

M 648 101 /117/ Now let us turn to the relationship between the Chinese and the Miao. In the first chapter of this book we learned that the Miao migrated into Hainan during the Ming period. At that time the coastal area was already occupied by the Chinese, while the interior plains were occupied by the Li. Hence the Miao were compelled to live in the deep mountainous area and to make a living from planting on mountain slopes. They usually had very little connection with the Chinese. Therefore, the corrupt officials of successive dynasties had very little to do with them. As a result of this isolation, they have had no bad feelings against the government and the Chinese. What bothered them the most were the Li in the adjacent areas and the few influential Chinese merchants who took advantage of them. Hoping to be freed from this kind of oppression, they enthusiastically looked forward to the government governing them directly and developing the area. The establishment of the three districts in the Li area brought them a certain amount of comfort. At this time, however, I personally saw a certain incident in Pao-t'ing district: A certain Chinese merchant, who had been doing business in the Li area for many years, possessed a great deal of farm property——level fields and mountain slopes. He was an

/26 cont./

133 Mountain ranges. — The most important mountain is the La-erh Shan. The section "Hsien Yao K'ao /Strategic Posts/" in Miao Fang-pei Lan says: "The Great La-erh Shan is situated 70 li to the west of the city (Feng-huang) and is more than ten li high. The mountain appears enormous, astride the two provinces of Hupeh and Kweichow. In the east Ya-yu, Hiang-shang /pronounced K'ang-shang in the north/, in the south Li-lin and Yu-ni, in the west K'ang-chin and Hsiu-nao, and in the north Hu-lu and Kan-tzu-yao, are all branches of this [361] mountain, spreading over an area of more than a hundred li, where there are many Miao villages. Hence, old chronicles ofter refer to the defeat of the Miao in Hupeh and Kweichow as being in the La-erh Shan." The La-erh Shan begins at Cheng-ta-ying, Kweichow, from where it extends irregularly to the middle of the Miao area, where a fault occurred, forming a plateau. This plateau is dotted with Miao villages, [361] whose inhabitants defend themselves by taking advantage of the favorable terrain. It has always been known as the den of the [101] Sheng Miao /"the uncivilized Miao," i.e. those who have not been brought under Chinese administration/.

Rivers. — The main courses of the Yüan, the Yu, and the Ch'en rivers flow only along the borders of the Miao frontier region. The most important rivers within this area are all tributaries of these three rivers, the largest of which is the Wu Ch'i, a tributary of the Yüan Chiang, and also known as the T'ung Ho. This branch extends deep into the Miao area and has three sources: the Wu-ch'ao Ho (Illus. 4)$^{1}_{A}$ in the west, the Wan-yung Chiang in the middle, and the Kao-yen Ho (Illus. 5)$^{2}_{A}$ in the north. The Wu-ch'ao Ho rises at Hsiao-t'ien-hsing-chai /village/ in Feng-huang, and flows westward to where the Niang-shui-t'o, and the Lung-chüeh-t'ung tributaries joint it. Further westward it passes Ta-hsin-chai and flows around Shang-hsia-yüan-hou-chai, veering southward to where the Ma-chung and the Hsiao-feng-huang-ying tributaries joint it from the east. It then flows southeastward, passing through Ma-ching-t'an and around Sheng-hua-shao to where the T'i

$^{1}_{A}$, $^{2}_{A}$ [see cat. 116, p49 - ANALYST]

101

/Information on the historical identification of the Miao will be found in category 116, pp. 1-46.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

THE HAINANESE MIAO

(Miss) M. M. MONINGER

101 162 Far down in the mountainous interior of Hainan, principally in the districts of Loh-hoe and Deng-ang, several hundred Miao villages may be found. These Miao people, essentially a nomadic race, build their rude villages, live on the hillside a few years until the natural fertility of the soil seems to them to be exhausted, and then move to a virgin soil. Hainan's population embraces three great divisions—the Loi aborigines (several tribes of which have become much like the Chinese in everything except language), the Chinese and the Miao. The Chinese seem to be unable to distinguish between "wild" Loi and Miao, classing them all indiscriminately as Loi robbers, but they are very distinct peoples, each tribe having its own language and customs.

166 The Miao people are not native to Hainan. They themselves say that they came from Kwangsi five or six generations ago. They are practically all of one tribe, judging by the embroidered head kerchief of the women, but a few villages of a different type are found in Deng-ang. We would be very glad indeed to get in touch with Miao people in other parts of China who speak the same dialect as our people, and if any readers of this article recognize from the following descriptions, Miao who are similar to the Hainanese Miao, correspondence would be welcomed.

121 114 It has been my privilege, at two different times, to spend periods of three weeks each, itinerating among these people, and to have seen a number of their villages, both heathen and Christian. Certain general characteristics are true of all their villages and a description of one would apply to all. Let me take as typical the village of Baéh-túi-tóe or White-water-tail.

361 This village is situated near a lovely rocky river, on a tiny hill rising from the stream. Whether you come to the village from the north or from the south, you must scramble down a narrow, precipitous foot-path from the top of a mountain to the village, your carriers balancing their loads as best they can, and your pony in infinite danger of falling

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

more restricted in distribution. All other names apply to sub-groups. 563

These often seem to be rather in the nature of nicknames and may suggest the kind of country in which they live — Hei Shan Miao (Black Miao of the mountains), Kao-p'o Miao (Miao of the highlands, Pa or P'ing-ti Miao (Miao of the level land), Tung Miao (Cave Miao); the name of the region which they live — Ch'e-sai Miao (Miao of the chariot-stockade), Shui-ch'i Miao (Miao of Shui-ch'i, the old name of a district); the color of their clothing — Ya-ch'iao Miao (Magpie Miao, whose garments are dark blue and white); some peculiarity of dress, decoration, or ornament — Ch'ang-ch'un and Tuan-ch'un Hei Miao (Long- and Short-skirted Black Miao), Ta Hua and Hsiao Hua Miao (those who embroider large or small designs on their clothes), Kou-er Nung-chia (Dog-eared farmers), Ma-ch'an Nung-chia (Horse saddleflap farmers), Hsien-ting Miao (Sharp-crowned Miao), Chen-t'ou Miao (Pillow Miao), and Ku-tung Miao (all these names refer to the type of headdress), Hai-p'a Miao (Miao who wear cowrie shells); their means of livelihood — Sa Miao (Miao who sell shrimps); some peculiar custom — Hsi-ku Miao (Miao who disinter and wash the bones of their dead), Nü-kuan Miao (Miao with female rulers); and so on. It is by the dress of the women that one may distinguish between tribes, for most of the men have adopted Chinese costume. Of course they do not use these nicknames in referring to themselves. In fact, they resent the name Miao, which means "sprouts"; that is, the natives, indigenous people, or barbarians. 101

Altogether it is estimated that fully forty per cent and possibly one-half of the population of the province is non-Chinese.

Cowrie Shells. Cowrie shells have played and still do play various roles in China. From very ancient times they have been used as money. With regard to the character "pei" (貝), Wieger[7] quotes a Chinese phrase which may be translated, "an animal from the sea, representation, in ancient times money and precious shell; from the Chou until the Ch'in 301 436

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER I

WHO ARE THE FLOWERY MIAO?

101 175 WHEN the first Chinese inhabitants came from the West, they encountered a half-savage population whom they were frequently compelled to fight. One of these races, the Miao-tzu, is still to be found in several provinces of China. The name means "Shoots", i.e., sons of the soil, and was probably given by the invaders. Originally nomads and hunters, the Miao-tzu have now settled in the mountain districts of Yunnan and Kweichow, in Western and Southern Szechuan, Hunan, Kuang-tung and Kwangsi, where they cultivate the soil and hunt whatever prey may be found. Divided into a great many tribes, numbering, it is said, more than fifty, they are often called, from the colour of their dress, Black Miao, White or River Miao, Red Miao, Magpie Miao, West-of-the-water Miao and Flowery Miao. All the Miao people look back to a common ancestor chieftain Ch'ih-Yu, who was defeated by the Yellow Emperor of China at a date prior to the days when Abraham went forth from Ur of the Chaldees to go into the land of Canaan. Of Ch'ih-Yu these aboriginals still

[p. 8 is blank]

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 175 sing in their deeply moving sagas of the sanguinary defeats inflicted on their ancestors by the Chinese. From the *Shu Ching* (the Chinese Book of History), we learn that four thousand years ago the Miao-tzu were strongly entrenched in Hunan, where they occasioned considerable trouble to such historic figures as Shun* and his redoubtable successor the Great Yu. Since those faraway days the Miao-tzu have been gradually dispossessed of their lands, driven to the West and brought into subjection, until to-day, though they still retain their distinctive dress and customs, they are entirely under Chinese rule and are called "tame Miao-tzu". This means they have learned agriculture and pay taxes. As recently as one hundred and fifty years ago there were "*seng*" or Independent Miao-tzu, but now all have lost their independence. They are being slowly crushed out or absorbed by the immortal Chinese, and as these have increased the Miao have decreased. In 1860 a great insurrection of the Black Miao broke out in Kweichow, but though it lasted nine years it was finally quelled with indescribable cruelty.

In North-East Yunnan and North-West Kweichow there is to be found to-day a patch of some fifty thousand Flowery Miao and it is with these that this book is mainly concerned. All are agriculturalists and grow their own food-stuffs; the daily meal consists of steamed wheat, maize, oats, millet or buckwheat and vegetables, with meat not more frequently than once a month. Maize cooked

262 [241]

*Mythical first Emperor of China.

6:Ch'en--1 E-5· (no date)1942 AE5 Miao AE5

Religious Beliefs of the Miao and I Tribes in An-shun, Kweichow

[101] 771

An-shun is a center of the Miao and I tribes in Kweichow province, where there are two Miao tribes, the Ch'ing /green/ Miao and the Hua /flower/ Miao, and one I tribe, the Chung-chia. Although there are various groups of Miao-I with different customs, from the point of view of religious beliefs they are all polytheists. In recent decades due to contacts with the Chinese people a portion of the Chung-chia have been assimilated. Besides setting up family altars and worshipping ancestors, they believe in Kuan-yin /goddess of mercy/, Confucius, Kuan-kung /a deified hero of the 3rd century, sometimes called the god of war/ and other gods. The Catholics and the Protestants have also exerted in recent years a strong latent influence on the Miao and I villagers.

The following is a brief study of the religious development and beliefs of the Miao-I tribes.

797

/89/ The Catholic church in the city of An-shun is known as Shan-tsung T'ang /hall of goodness/ with four branch halls at Kung-pu, Mo-wan-tung, Shui-tang-chai and Ch'iu-chow. They all hold properties which are yearly on the increase. It is said that the Catholic Church at An-shun was established by a certain French priest some fifty years ago. Today, it is administered by Lengkuohsien /transliterated/ and Chailiszu /transliterated/, both French, and the expenses for maintaining it comes from the Catholic headquarters in Kweiyang. The church maintains an elementary school, studying chiefly the Bible, and the enrollment is about from 30 to 40 boys from Catholic families. Within the hsien district there are about 2000 Catholics, one-half of them being the Chung-chia people.

[162]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

361 These villages are sometimes surrounded by a wall, and sometimes by a stockade of plaited bamboos, but most of them have no sort of
443 protection. On market-days, which are held generally once in six days, the market-places are crowded by the men and women of different tribes, which, by reason of the varied and picturesque costumes of the women, present an animated and interesting spectacle. These markets or fairs are mostly held in the towns and villages, but some of them are held in out-of-the-way places where no houses are to be seen. Here the people sell their live-stock and farm produce, and buy such necessaries as they cannot produce or make for themselves. At some of the markets we have visited, the tribes-people outnumber the Chinese by ten to one, but in some places it is the other way about.

563 The non-Chinese of Kweichow are the *Lao* or *Keh-lao*, the *Miao-chia*, the *Chung-chia*, and the *I-chia*. And here let us explain for the reader who does not understand Chinese, that the word *chia*, so often occurring in the names of various tribes, means "family" or "tribe."
563 Thus *Miao-chia* means the "Miao tribe" or
101 "tribes." We have heard people speak, and have met writers, who mention the Miao as *Miao tsï*. That is a Chinese contemptuous way

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

of speaking of them. People, unless they wish to be rude, should speak and write of them as *Miao*, or *Miao-chia*.

Of the four races mentioned above, the Miao-chia and Chung-chia are numerous and important, the I-chia not so numerous but still important. Later on these will be dealt with at greater length. The Keh-lao, however, are now nearly extinct; many of them have married into Chung-chia and Old Chinese families. Some writers have spoken of them as extinct. As far as we know, there are now only several hamlets of them in the Anshun prefecture, which altogether do not number more than two or three hundred families.

These people claim, and rightly, we believe, to be the real aborigines of that region. In some parts of the province the Miao claim to be the aborigines, but where the Miao and Keh-lao occupy the same district, the Miao allow that the Keh-lao were there before themselves. From the similarity of names, we might suppose that these Lao or Keh-lao are the same as a branch of the Lao or Laos people of northern Siam, southern Yunnan, and other regions. This, however, we think is not so, as we have good reason to conclude that the Lao or Laos people of northern Siam, and elsewhere, are the

1: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER II

THE LANGUAGES AND CUSTOMS OF THE MIAO

Chinese and non-Chinese—How named—How differentiated—Miao languages and dialects—Lack of literature—Love of litigation—Dacoits—The Black Miao—Other Miao—Moral condition.

162 If we estimate the population of Kweichow at eight millions, half of these as Chinese and the rest as Miao-chia, Chung-chia, and I-chia, we shall not be far from the truth. The Chung-chia are probably as numerous as the Miao-chia and I-chia together, and the Miao-chia much more numerous than the I-chia or Lo-lo. The I-chia are only to be found in the west and north-west, and even there are still outnumbered by the Miao. As the Miao were probably in what is now called Kweichow before the Chung-chia, and in most parts of it before the I-chia, the Miao may be first described.

• 101 The Chinese say there are seventy tribes of Miao, but one Chinese work makes that number

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

include every sort of non-Chinese people, and is therefore misleading. As far as our observation goes, the Chinese who live in those regions make no mistake about the different races, and call them by their proper Chinese names. Many of the Miao men, as already mentioned, dress much the same as the Chinese peasants, but the women of all the tribes wear a costume peculiar to themselves, and it is from these differences that the Chinese name them. Thus, the women of the *Heh* or "Black Miao" wear a dark chocolate-coloured embroidered costume; the men of that tribe also often wear calico of a dark-brown or chocolate colour. For this reason the Chinese call them Black Miao. The *Ya-ch'io*, or "Magpie Miao," are so called because the dark-blue and white costume of their women suggests the magpie. There are the *Hua* or "Parti-coloured Miao," the *Peh* or "White Miao," and so on. Some few of them, however, are otherwise named, as the *Sa*, or "Shrimp Miao," because they catch and sell fresh-water shrimps. There are also the *Shui-hsi-Miao*, "West of the water Miao," the water here referred to doubtless being the river flowing between Anshunfu and Tating.

The most numerous and most important of these tribes are the Heh Miao in the south-

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

101 east and the Hua Miao in the west and north-west. In some parts the Hua Miao are called the Ta-hua-Miao. Here *Ta* means "great," and that adjective is probably used because there are so many of them and because they extend over so large a district. Some of the Miao are also found in the province of Yunnan, and some in the province of Hunan. But who is to decide what constitutes a tribe, and hence how many tribes there are? The Hua Miao of Anshunfu, both men and women, dress quite differently from the Ta-hua-Miao of Weining, but their language is much the same, and they are evidently the same tribe. The Heh Miao of Singyifu in the south-west are manifestly the same in dress and appearance as the Heh Miao of the south-east, though so widely separated geographically. Those of Singyifu moved, or were moved, from the south-east to where they are now, since the time when the great Miao and Mohammedan rebellions nearly depopulated the south-west of Kweichow. The Ya-ch'io Miao of Tating district speak almost the same dialect as the Peh Miao of Kao-san, about forty miles to the north-east of them. In Hwangping Chow there is a small tribe called the Keh-teo Miao living among the Heh Miao, but quite different from them in dress and appear-

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

ance, being shorter and coarser looking than the Heh Miao. They speak also a dialect more like that of the Hua Miao of the west than that of the Heh Miao among whom they dwell. Probably they were where they are now before the Heh Miao moved into that region. For our part we think it a waste of time to try and count how many tribes of Miao there are. Any one who could speak three or four of their dialects would in all probability understand and be understood by them all.

Some writers have mentioned the Yao or Yao-ren of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and say that some of them are to be found in the south-east corner of Kweichow, and that they are a tribe of Miao. The *Yao* probably means "wild dog" or "jackal." Whether they are to be found in Kweichow or whether they are a tri of the Miao we cannot say; we never met or heard of any of them in Kweichow. But missionaries or travellers in that out-of-the-way corner of the province might inquire about them. From the lists of words of the different languages spoken in Kweichow, printed in the Appendix, the student may be able to discover if the Yao-ren are related to the Miao or to any of the other tribes of Kweichow.

Other writers mention the Li-ren or Li-mu,

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

of these two most dissimilar dialects are compared, it is easily seen that they are both variations of a common speech. Naturally these variations are most marked in cases where the tribes are most widely separated geographically. But the differences of dialect in tribes which are only thirty or forty miles apart are sometimes very great. In some of these cases it is very often the commonest words which show the greatest changes; for instance, the pronouns, the negatives, and such common words as the verbs "to be" and "to have." This striking difference of speech among people who must at one time have spoken the same language suggests that they have not only been separated geographically, but have also been apart for long periods of time.

The Heh Miao call themselves *mp'eo* or *de mp'eo*. *De* is merely a personal prefix. This word or sound *mp'eo* also means embroidery. The Heh Miao women, and the women of most of the other Miao tribes, wear a good deal of embroidery in their costume. The amount of embroidery on the clothing of a Heh Miao young woman is astonishing. It takes them years to do the embroidery on the jacket and skirt in which they hope to be married, and one of the commonest sights in a Heh Miao village

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

291 531 is a group of young girls, sitting round the door of one of the houses, laughing and chatting and doing their embroidery. When the costumes are finished, they are worn on gala days before they are married and on festive occasions for years afterwards. I have asked my teacher and others if they call themselves *mp'eo* because of the embroidery their women wear, but none of them was able to say why they call themselves by that name.

• 101 The Ya-chio Miao of Tatung, who live about one hundred miles distant from the nearest Heh Miao, call themselves *mp'ü*, which is the same word and means "embroidery" also with them. They also were not able to tell me why they are so named. The Hua Miao call themselves *hmung* and *hmung-a-lí*. The Shui-hsi Miao and Peh Miao also call themselves *hmung*, and some of the other Miao call themselves *hmao*. Now all these words *mp'ü*, *mp'eo*, *hmao*, *hmung* are doubtless the same word, but whether *hmao* and *hmung* also mean embroidery or not in those dialects we are not at present able to say.

173 As these people have no literature, they can say very little that is trustworthy about their own origin and history. The Heh Miao say they came from Kiangsi province, and that is where the Chinese place the San Miao in the

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 The word Ch'uan 川 means river but it is also an abbreviation for the word Szechwan 四川. Szechwan means four rivers. The Szechwan people are often called Ch'uan Jen 川人 and Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵 Apparently the Ch'uan Miao have been given this name because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao 苗 means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The word Miao sounds like the Chinese word cat, and it is very likely that the name Miao was given to these people by the Chinese because their speech sounded to the Chinese like the mewing of cats. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to aborigine groups in West China.

The Miao call themselves Hmoↄ and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves HmoↄBo or ancient Miao because they believe that they belong to a very ancient race. The Hua Miao are called HmoↄNd^{a}Λu or old Miao* and the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 are called HmoↄNtgwa or dark Miao.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 There are frequent references to the Miao in the Chinese Classics. The accounts state that failing to pacify them by peaceful methods, the emperor exiled many of the Miao to the Province of Kansu on the extreme west of China, where they have apparently disappeared.† Other groups of the Miao who refused to be absorbed have been driven south and south-west into the highlands of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Hunan, Kweichow, Yunnan, southern Szechwan, the Island of Hainan and Tongkin. There are historic records of the forced migrations of Miao from Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces. One such migration occurred in 1733 during the reign of the Emperor Yung Chêng. 雍正.

Historians[3] indicate that the Miao were living as far north as the Yellow River, nearly four thousand years ago

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*Another name for the Hua Miao is Hmoↄ LΛu, which also means old Miao.

† Mr. Chuang Hsüeh Pên 莊學本, a representative of the Chinese government who has travelled extensively in the Si K'ang region, and was with the Panchan Lama at the time of his death, has studied and taken pictures of a Miao tribe in Kansu northeast of Kokonor, which is called the Pai Miao 老苗. It is very likely that the Pai Miao are the descendants of the Miao who were exiled into this region many centuries before Christ. There is a tribe or ethnic group of Miao west of Kwanhsien in the region of Mowchow 茂州.

3. Faber, E., Chronological Handbook of the History of China, Shanghai, American Presbyterian Press, p. 4.
Li Ong Bing, Outlines of Chinese History, p. 2.
Müller, E. Max, Sacred Books of the East, Vol III, The Shu King, The Shih King, The Hsiao King, pp. 41, 54.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

and then, after meeting the Chinese, migrated to the south and the south-west. Abadie in *Les Races du Haut-Tonkin* states that the Miao entered the highlands of Tongkin in very recent times. The Suifu history speaks of the Miao being in the Szechwan-Yunnan border region during the Sung and the Ming Dynasties but it does not indicate what tribe or tribes of Miao were represented nor when or whence they came.

The Ch'uan Miao have a tradition that they were brought from somewhere in South China, probably from the region of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien, within the last three centuries, with their hands tied behind their backs, and released where they now live. Some of them point to peculiar wrinkles between their wrists and their elbows which they believe to be scars made by the cords that bound their ancestors. There are legends that point to a land in the north where there were camels and also Chinese, and others that speak of groves of banana trees on the hillsides. There are legends to the effect that their ancestors lived in a hot southern climate, and others that mention a race of people whose skins are black. The Ch'uan Miao embroidery resembles that of the Miao on the Island of Hainan more than it does that of the Hua Miao, their nearest neighbors on the south. Their language has nine tones, like that of some of the Chinese of the Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien region, while the Chinese language spoken in West China has only four or five tones. After studying their legends and Chinese history I am inclined to think that the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao originally lived far south in the torrid zone, in the region of India, Burma or Tongkin or some island in the Pacific or Indian Ocean, whence they migrated northward above the Tongkin Lake and even into the Yellow River Valley where they met the Chinese over four thousand years ago. Thence they went southward into Kwangtung or Kwangsi from where they were brought as captives and released in the highlands where they now live, not over three centuries ago.

It is possible that the Ch'uan Miao are a mixture of several smaller Miao groups who have been or are being absorbed into one cultural group in one cultural area. In this area there are many lesser variations but a general similarity in language, customs, and physical appearance. In northern Yunnan there is a group of Ch'uan Miao called the Hsiao Hua Miao 小花苗 or Little Flowery Miao, that is now being absorbed. In the northern part of Kweichow there are Ch'uan Miao who are called Ya Ch'iao Miao 鴉雀苗 or Magpie Miao who may be a small group that has been almost absorbed. Near Chên Hsiung 鎮雄 are the Hmoŋ Gɨa or White Miao who are also Ch'uan Miao. Near Lo Pao the Ch'uan Miao

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 are also called TAu TAu Miao or Basket Miao because the women wear hats that are like small bamboo baskets inside. Near Laowat'an 老鴉灘 the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ch'ing Chi Miao because their clothing resembles the plumage of a certain wild pheasant. Near Chên Hsiung the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ho Shang Miao 和尚苗 or Buddhist Priest Miao because their clothing resembles that of a Buddhist monk. The Ch'uan Miao are also called Hmoɔ Swa or Chinese Miao because they have been much influenced by Chinese language and customs and the men dress like the Chinese.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE

262 241 231 The food varies slightly in different localities and corresponds closely to that of the Chinese neighbors. The legends indicate that in former days there was a greater dependance on wild game, fruit, berries and vegetables.[4] The supply of these has lessened as the land has become more thickly populated. Even to-day in times of famine the poor avoid starvation by eating wild herbs, roots, berries and fruit. In the more favored localities there are rice fields and rice is the principal food of well-to-do people. Most of the fields are so steep that rice cannot be planted so that corn is the main staple of diet. It can be made into biscuits but very often it is ground and boiled and eaten, like rice, out of bowls with chopsticks. It is then called *pao ku fan* 包穀飯 meaning corn-rice or corn-food. Wheat, oats and buckwheat are also cultivated and made into biscuits. The garden supplies beans, peas, onions, turnips, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables. Pigs, cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks and geese are raised and used for food, supplemented by fish and the flesh of wild birds and animals. Dog-meat is sometimes eaten by the poorest people, as among the Chinese, and also the flesh of snakes. The black snake is more often eaten than other snakes. Magpies are more often eaten than crows. House rats are seldom eaten while mountain rats are considered a delicacy by all. Hawks are seldom eaten for food but their flesh is used as medicine. [278]

262 Generally only the well-to-do eat rice and the poor eat corn meal. By the wealthy, meat is eaten once in several days, by the poorer, once in several weeks and by the poorest only at feasts and festivals. Vegetables are used whenever

4. One summer I spent my vacation in the high mountains beyond Mupin 木邦. I found that the local hunters, herders and medicine gatherers were quite dependant on wild vegetables for food and that over twenty species of wild vegetables were edible either in a raw state or when cooked. There were three species of wild onions and one of wild celery, and a native counted twenty-two species that he knew of.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?)1954 AE5 Miao AE5

SONGS AND STORIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

By David Crockett Graham
(With 24 plates)

I. INTRODUCTION

THE PEOPLE

101 The Ch'uan Miao are an ethnic group living on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan Provinces, western China. The country is very mountainous with numerous peaks rising 3,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. There are many streams, forests, waterfalls, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, natural caves and natural bridges, and deep holes or pits where the water disappears into the bowels of the earth. While the roads between the Chinese towns and villages are [491] generally paved with stones, most of the roads are narrow footpaths up and down the steep mountainsides or through fields and forests.

[164] It is estimated that the number of Ch'uan Miao people is about 150,000. In Szechwan Province, they are found as far north as Kung Hsien 珙縣 and Ch'ang Ning 長寧 and about 100 li east of Yung Ning 永寧. They extend a short distance into the northeastern tip of Kweichow, south in Yunnan as far as Ta Kuan 大關 and below Cheng Hsiung, and a short distance westward toward Hsü [361] Kiang 敍江. They do not live in villages, towns, or cities but are interspersed among a much larger population of Chinese who live in the towns and cities and in many of the farmhouses.

[145] These people resemble the Chinese in having light, olive-brown skin and little hair on their faces and bodies but differ from the Chinese in West China by being slightly shorter in stature and having a slightly less evident epicanthic fold to the eyes. There are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos and Tibetans than between the Ch'uan Miao and the Chinese. A comparison of the languages and dialects and the social and religious customs makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-yao group of the Mon-Khmer family.[1]

The word Ch'uan means river. It is apparently an abbreviation of the word Szechwan, which means four rivers, for Szechwan is the province of four rivers. The Szechwan people are called Ch'uan Jen 川人, and the Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵. It is evident that these people are called Ch'uan Miao because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to non-Chinese groups in China.

[1] Clarke, S. R., Among the tribes of Southwest China, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911; Davies, H. R., Yunnan, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

10: Graham E-5 (192?-?)1954 AE5 Miao AE5

The Miao call themselves Hmong, and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmong Bo or old Miao, because they believe that they are descended from a very ancient race. They are also called Hmong Gleh or White Miao because in some localities they wear or have worn white clothing.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

References to the Miao are found in the earliest Chinese literature. It is stated that the San Miao, who could not be pacified, were exiled to the province of Kansu, where they apparently disappeared.

Some of the Miao were absorbed, but others migrated southward or westward as the Chinese advanced, and their descendants are found on the Island of Hainan, in Indo-China, and in the southern and southwestern provinces of China. There are historic records of forced migrations of the Miao people from Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces westward into Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, one of which occurred in 1733 under the Emperor Yung Cheng 雍正. The Ch'uan Miao have a legend that years ago, after a war with the Chinese in which they were defeated, they were forced to migrate, with their hands tied behind their backs, to the place where they now live.

None of the histories of Kweichow or of its principal cities or prefectures mentions the Ch'uan Miao, and the Yunnan histories never mention them as Ch'uan Miao, and generally not at all. The Chao T'ung Hsien Chih mentions them as White Miao and merely states that they are there and that they are called White Miao because they wear white clothing. In descriptions of Miao customs those of the White Miao are not distinguished from those of the Hua Miao. In the gazetteers of southern Szechwan, such as the Hsü Chou Fu Chih, they are mentioned only when they engaged in wars with the Chinese and had to be pacified, and there is no description of their customs. The fact is that aside from the articles of Dr. W. R. Morse, Dr. Gordon Agnew, Prof. William G. Sewell, and the writer, most of which were published in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society, these people have practically never been mentioned in historic or scientific literature.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Agriculture is the principal occupation. These people are truly "sons of the soil" and get their living from the land. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests, shamans, or in recent years teachers, generally depend primarily on farms or gardens for a livelihood. A few own their farms, but most of them rent from the Chinese. One Chinese farmer asserted that a Miao family had rented the same farm from the same family for at least 200 years.

The homes of the Ch'uan Miao are much the same as those of the Chinese, especially the Chinese of the poorer classes. The floors and walls are generally of pounded clay, but sometimes the walls are of wood or bamboo and plaster, or even of cornstalks. The roofs are generally of straw or grass, but some Ch'uan Miao have tile-roofed houses. There are rarely any pictures or decorations on the walls, and the main pieces of furniture are square or round tables, long stools, beds, and chairs.

121 114 the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we would have examined, it was considered impracticable to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

635 *Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.*—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.[3] Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

101 161 167 There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan Miao probably number about 100,000, and their place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao[3] whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liao and other tribes.[3]

563 175 The Chinese population of Szechwan is not autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient

[3] W. R. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

[P. 66a]

[2 cont.]
175 remain are the Chinese (Han), the Manchus, the Mongols, the
563 Moslems, the Tibetans and the Miao-I. According to scholars who had made studies in the genealogies of both the ancient and modern races, they are all descendants of Emperors Yen [Shên Nung] and Huang [Huang Ti]; they belong to the same branch and share the same origin. Due to geographical barriers and environmental causes there came into being many kinds of ethnic groups with different habits and customs.

101 We are here concerned with the origin and history of the
175 Miao and the I, two of the oldest tribes in China. In early
[563] Chinese classics they were both referred to as the "Miao-Man" [Miao savages], but actually they were two distinct ethnic groups who should not be confused. The I were originally the aborigines inhabiting the border regions of Yunnan, Kweichow and Kwangsi in the southwest since very early times up to the present. As for the present-day Miao, they were often erroneously taken as the "San-Miao," which, however, was the name of a state and not the name of an ethnic group. The ancient ethnic name of the Miao was "Li," while the name of "Miao" as used today is a phonetic borrowing from the word "Man" first used in the Han Dynasty, and is not the "Miao" of the "San-Miao." During the time of the Five Emperors [Pre-historical period] this tribe lived in the lower middle reaches of the Yangtze River, and later due to an increase in their number and the comparative fertility of the Yellow River banks, they were led by their chieftain, Ch'ih yu, northward across the Yellow River, and came into immediate conflict with the Chinese there. They were expelled by Huang Ti [Yellow Emperor] after having suffered great setbacks, and later were again pacified during the Chou Dynasty. When Ch'u [a feudal state] became strong, the Miao tribe was also invaded and assimilated by the Chinese. At the time when Chin and Ch'u subjugated Pa and Shu in the south, the entire Yangtze valley was acculturated by the Chinese. The remnant Miao tribe then gradually went southward to Hunan, Kwang-tung, Kwangsi and Yunnan, and finally to Kweichow, where they mingled with
[133] the native I tribe, lived in the high mountains and deep valleys, and became entirely segregated from the world outside.

[2 cont.]
101 Afterwards, due to increases in population, the Chinese began
175 migrating southwestward to live side by side with the Miao-I. But Chinese maladministration, which alienated popular support, caused the Miao-I to become rebellious from time to time.
[648] Even today, they remain a serious problem in the southwest.
000 So if we recognize the origin and history of the Miao and I, as well as their intimate relations with the Chinese, all being the same descendants of the Emperors Yen and Huang and belonging to the same racial stock, then today at the height of the war of resistance [the Sino-Japanese War] for the survival of the great Chinese nation, the Miao and I can take their rightful place among all the ethnic groups of China to march shoulder to shoulder to the battle front, to prosper and to perish together.

[3] 2) Population. The Miao and I who are distributed
131 over a large area in the southwest of China have a history of
161 several thousand years, and their joint population totals more than 20,000,000. Here the term southwest refers to Kweichow, Yunnan, Szechwan, Sikang, Hunan, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. In these provinces there are scattered the Miao and I tribes. Kweichow, being a "Man" territory in ancient times, is especially known as the headquarters of the Miao and I. Among the 82 hsien in Kweichow, the Miao-I are found in 60 hsien, in which they are extensively distributed. There are no accurate figures on the population of the Miao and I in Kweichow. According to the estimates of the Kweichow Provincial [Kuomintang] Party Headquarters more than one-third of the total population of Kweichow are Miao and I. But, according to the estimates of Tao Lü-kung and Yang Wen-hsün in the Chung-wai ti-li ta-ch'üan [Complete Chinese and Foreign Geography], the Miao-I comprise three- fourths of the total population, the Chinese being only one-fourth.

The total population in Kweichow is about 11,216,400, of
161 whom, according to the foregoing estimate, 8,412,300 would be Miao and I. But these two sets of figures are both exaggerated. According to my own estimate, about 40 percent of the population in Kweichow are Miao and I, so that they will be in the
000 neighborhood of 4,000,000. With such a large population in

[3 cont.] With such a large population in
101 184 Kweichow, there are apt to be many ethnic varieties of the Miao-I, whose names are generally given by the Chinese and tacitly acknowledged by the Miao-I themselves. Most of these tribes live in high mountains and deep valleys and are isolated one from the other with the result that there are notable differences in locations, languages and customs. Thus they are often classified according to the colors of their costumes and other characteristics.

For instance, there are, according to the colors of the clothes the Ch'ing [blue or green] Miao, the Hê [black] Miao, the Pê [white] Miao and the Hung [red] Miao. Those who are differentiated according to the areas they live in are known as the Kao-p'o [high slope] Miao, the P'ing-ti [level ground] Miao, the Yueh-pien [boundary] Miao, the Shan [mountain] Miao, the Pa [embankment] Miao, the Tung [east] Miao, the Hsi [west] Miao, and the Ch'ien [bamboo grove] Miao. Those distinguished by the names of places in which they live are the Shui-hsi Miao, the Chia-ch'ê Miao, the Kun-tang Miao, the Ch'ê-chai Miao, the Hung-chou Miao, the P'ing-fa Miao, the Ch'ing-chiang-he Miao, the Kê-meng-ku-yang Miao, the Ku-lan Miao, the Tzu-chiang Miao and the Hsi-chi Miao. Those distinguished by the flower designs of their clothes are the Hua [flower] Miao, the Ta-hua [big flower] Miao, the Hsiao-hua [small flower] Miao, and the Hua-i [flowery dress] Miao. Those distinguished by the styles of their skirts are the Chang-ch'ün [long skirt] Miao, the Ai-ch'ün [short skirt] Miao, and the T'uan-ch'ün [circular skirt] Miao. Those distinguished by their trades are the Ta-t'ieh [blacksmith] Miao and the Tz'u-ku [water-plant?] Miao. Those distinguished by the styles of their ornaments are the Ku-hsün Miao, the Chen-tou Miao, the Tieh-tung Miao, the Chien-ting Miao, the Hê-chüeh Miao, and so on, the list being [4] inexhaustible.

According to the Pai-Miao-t'u [One Hundred Miao Pictures], sold in the secondhand bookstores in Kweiyang, there are 124 different Miao groups in all strange and quaint manners. The first 82 groups belong to Kweichow and the rest to Yunnan. Among those 82 groups, nine are Ch'i-lao, six are Chung-chia, five are Lung-chia, and two are Lolo. The others being all different, I
½ [i.e. about 4,000,000 in the author's estimation.-Analyst]

[4 cont.]
101 184 shall not enumerate them separately. According to my classification the I in Kweichow may be divided into Chung-chia, Sui-chia, Tung-chia and Chuang-chia; the Miao may be divided into Hê Miao, Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao, Pê Miao and Hung Miao. The Hê Miao and Hu Miao are more numerous and occupy a large territory. The Hê Miao live in the various hsien districts in the southeast, and the Hua Miao in the northwestern districts. The Hung Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Pê Miao are fewer in number and live in some narrow strips of land. The Hung Miao are limited to T'ung-jen and Sung-t'ao in the northeast; the Ch'ing Miao, to Kweiyang, Ting-fan, Ch'ing-chen and An-shun in the middle of the province; and the Pê Miao, to Kweiyang, Kwei-ting and Lung-li also in the middle. The Chung-chia and the Tung-chia among the I are the most numerous and occupy wider areas, being chiefly in the middle and the south. The Tung-chia are mostly in the southeast corner, and the Sui-chia in Li-po, Tu-shan, San-ho, Tu-chiang, and Hsia-chiang in the south. A small number of Tung-chia [Chuang-chia?] emigrated several decades ago from I-pei, Lo-ch'eng and San-chiang in Kwangsi and settled along the commercial highways in the border regions.

181 3) Characteristics. Physically, the Miao-I are a very
[147] sturdy and healthy people. They work hard all year round from sunrise to sunset, barefooted, wearing little in wind and rain, and living with Nature itself. Being a simple-minded people, they have few vices. Before opium was banned in
[276] Kweichow, only a few Miao-I were addicted to this drug with the result that they are healthier than the Chinese in every respect. They can endure hardship and are perseverant and patient. Their outstanding character is honesty and straightforwardness: anyone who can earn their trust will find them faithful and true to the last without ever faltering. If you ask them to leap into the flame they would do so without hesitation. But their knowledge being limited, they have little judgment, are stubborn and tardy, and lack the will to progress. They do everything according to what is handed down from their ancestors, [5] and it is often difficult to explain things to them.

12: Wu and Ch'en--19 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

[14 cont.]

000 to consolidate them, to advance their civilization, to improve their living conditions, to plan for their welfare and to alleviate their sufferings. The eighth article in the Declaration of the Fifth National Convention [15] says: "All political policies should be made for the welfare and in the interest of the local inhabitants." It is also hoped that our Miao-I compatriots will realize our mutual racial interest in the face of enemy aggression. Only by rising and resisting the enemy will we be able to ensure our ultimate freedom.

(First published in the Tung-fang tsa-chih [Far Eastern Miscellany], Vol. 27, No. 16, August 15, 1940.)

[16]

General Conditions of the Short-Skirt Hê Miao in Kweichow

Wu Che-Lin

1. Introduction

101 131 The Miao-I people in Kweichow occupy at least forty percent of the total population of the province. Except in the area north of the Wu River, where the population is entirely Chinese, the Miao-I are in a great majority in all rural communities farther away from the cities and larger villages, in which the [161] Chinese mostly congregate. But these 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 Miao-I people are different in languages, customs, and costumes as well as in cultural background. Therefore, their names (given them by the Chinese) total more than a hundred, such as the Ch'ing Miao, the Hê Miao, the Pê Miao, the Hung Miao, the Hua Miao, the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Ta-tieh Miao, the Ku-lan Miao, the Hua-ch'un Miao, the Chung-chia, the Sui-chia, the Tung-chia, the Ts'ai-chia, the Tung-chia, the Chi-tou, the Mu-lao, and so on. The Tuan-ch'ün

[16 cont.]

131 Miao [short-skirt Miao] is a branch of the Hê Miao, distributed
●101 over a very extensive area in southeast Kweichow at Hsia-chiang, Yung-chiang, Chien-ho T'ai-kung, Tan-chiang, Pa-chai, Lu-shan and Ma-chiang. They total about 40,000 to
[161] 50,000 people. Although they have among them more or less the same costumes, customs and language, their cultural levels vary to a large extent. The present article deals only with those Short-Skirt Hê Miao who are located in the region contiguous to Lu-shan, Ma-chiang, Pa-chai and Tan-chiang, and may not be representative of the entire group.

2. Costumes

[17] A common method to distinguish the various tribal
101 groups among the Miao in Kweichow is by the style of their
291 women's dresses, because the men's are generally similar to those of the Chinese farmers. The women's costumes, however, still retain their original native style. The so-called Ch'ing Miao [blue Miao], Hê Miao [black Miao], and Pê Miao [white Miao] are distinguished by the colors of their womenfolks' clothes, which are either predominantly blue, black, or white. The
291 Short-skirt Miao is one group of the Hê Miao, their women's clothes being uniformly black. They are called the Short-skirts because their skirts are shorter than those worn by the other groups. In fact, aside from the length of the skirt, the other parts of their costumes are quite different too. To describe,
302 we start from the head. First of all, they never use make-up,
but their hair is always well-trimmed and shiny. They often
[515] wash their hair by the river bank and afterwards apply tea-seed oil to give it a glossy finish. They comb their hair backwards first and leave a bang of about two to three inches falling down on the forehead in the shape of a small black umbrella. On the crown the hair is coiled up in a chignon and fastened by a small wooden comb three inches long, rather like the headgear of a Japanese woman.

12: Wu and Ch'en--38 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

[31 cont.]

other, then the many millions of Miao-I people can be made into a powerful new force to assume special responsibilities in the war of defense and national reconstruction.

(First published in the Tung-fang tsa-chih [Far Eastern Miscellany], Vol. 36, No. 16, August 15, 1931.

[77]

The Life of Women among the Sui-chia

Wu Che-lin

1. Introduction

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There is no doubt that Kweichow is the center of the Miao-I people. As to the exact number of these people estimates vary from 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 to as high as 5,000,000 or 6,000,000. The final figure probably has to await the outcome of a more accurate census in the future. Among these many million people the spoken languages, customs, styles of clothing, and cultures in general are markedly different. They themselves recognize these differences although they all belong to the same Miao ethnic group. Because of the differences in their costumes and locations the Chinese call them by different names. Currently, there are more than a hundred groups of them, such as the Hê Miao, the Ch'ing Miao the Pê Miao, the Hua Miao, the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Sheng Miao, the Kao-pu Miao, the Chung-chia, the Tung-chia, the Chen-chia, the Sui-chia, the Ch'i-tou and the Mu-lao. There is a central area in the distribution of each Miao group. From the point of view of anthropology and linguistics they may be classified in the same ethnic group, but judged by their living conditions they have marked differences. The following is a brief account of the life of women among the Sui-chia.

12: Wu and Ch'en--71 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

The Ancestral Myth of the Sheng Miao

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Who are the Sheng Miao?

101 184 The Sheng (wild) Miao and the Shu (assimilated) Miao are two antithetical terms, with which the early scholars distinguished the various Miao tribes. These two names are self-explanatory. The Sheng Miao are those Miao who live in the wild and distant mountains without any intercourse with the Chinese. Their nature is wild and cannot be disciplined; their foods are hard and uncooked. The Shu Miao, on the other hand, reside in the [177] nearby mountains, where they learn to speak the Chinese language and trade with the Chinese. They plant and cultivate the land in almost the same way as the Chinese. Originally, before the Miao were civilized they were all vaguely called the Sheng Miao. But after the lapse of a great deal of time, the Chinese population in the Miao areas increased and their relations with the Miao became closer so that a part of the Miao who were assimilated by the Chinese became known as the Shu Miao. The other part of the Miao who were backward and unassimilated continued to be called Sheng Miao. The "Man-chuan" [Record of the Savages] in the Kweichow T'ung-chih [Kweichow Gazetteer] says: "Those Miao who have t'u-ssu [headmen] are the Shu Miao, and those without them are the Sheng Miao." This division is based upon the fact whether they are ruled by native chieftains or not. Again, according to Hu Ting's "Miao-Man pu-lo k'ao" [Studies in the Miao and Man Tribes] in Li-p'ing-fu chih [Gazetteer of Li-p'ing Prefecture]: "As to the Miao ..... those who live near the fu [prefecture] and hsien [county] areas are the Shu Miao; they pay taxes and contribute labor more or less like the Chinese. Those not living in these places are the Sheng Miao, who however greatly outnumber the Shu Miao." Later, as the Miao society progressed, the 101 Shu Miao gradually outnumbered the Sheng Miao, who were confined to certain remote areas. Regarding the various Miao

[130 cont.] Regarding the various Miao
101 and Man tribes, the Ch'ien-shu [History of Kweichow] has this to
131 say: "Who are the Sheng Miao? The Ku-lin at Ting-fan, the Ch'iu-ku at Hsing-lung, Ch'ing-p'ing and P'ien-ch'iao, the Tzu-chiang at Tu-yün, the Ch'iu-hsing and Ch'iu-ming at T'ien-pa, the Hê Miao at Cheng-yüan, the Hung Miao at T'ung-jen, the Yang-tung and the Lu-han at Li-p'ing are all Miao." As the nature of these Miao people was ferocious, the Manchu government was very much [131] worried and put them all in the same category as the Sheng Miao. Today, the original settlements of the Sheng Miao cannot be traced with certainty even after extensive investigations in the Miao area by the writer of this article. The Miao in the above stated areas have all been assimilated and are no longer called Sheng Miao. Actually, there is only one remnant Sheng Miao group left. When the writer went to Hsia-chiang hsien in the southeastern corner of Kweichow, he discovered a group of genuine Sheng Miao. The ch'ien-nan
[113] chih-fang chi-lüeh [An Official Report on South Kweichow] compiled by Lo Jao-tien, Provincial Treasurer of Kweichow during the Ch'ing Dynasty, has the following to say regarding the Sheng Miao in the Hsia-chiang area.

"At Hsia-chiang there is a group of Sheng Miao, generally considered good-natured, weak and easily cheated, who are always taken advantage of by the Hung Miao at Ch'u-nan and Yung-feng. The Sheng Miao cultivate the highlands, and are more ignorant and primitive than those at T'ai-kung and Ch'ing-chiang. When they sell their fields they use carved wood [as a sort of contract].

The name Sheng Miao, of course, is given by the Chinese, but without their sensibility being hurt they call themselves "ta-meng-niu," the Miao word for "Sheng Miao." The name, however, conveys more or less an idea of contempt. Sometimes they also call themselves "ta-meng-feng-pai," meaning the "High-slope Miao." This indicates their residence on the high ground. According to the writer's findings, Kao-p'o Miao [High-slope Miao] is another name of the Hê Miao. The Sheng Miao at

131 [131 cont.]
101 Hsia-chiang are also known as Kao-p'o Miao. There are quite a
[184] few differences in language, costumes and customs between them, but in racial affinity they are the same as the Hê Miao. The area distribution of the Hê Miao in Kweichow is rather extensive, and the hsien districts in the southeastern part of the province all have traces of the Hê Miao. Under the general name of Hê Miao, there are a number of sub-divisions, which, according to the writer's findings, include the Chang-ch'ün Miao, the Tuan-ch'ün Miao, the Hua-i Miao, the Kao-p'o Miao, the Hê-i Miao, the Lao-hê Miao, the Pa-chai Miao, the Shan Miao and the Sheng Miao. The Sheng Miao at Hsia-chiang are the most backward and primitive among the Hê Miao.

Hsia-chiang is the farthest hsien district in Kweichow on
131 the border of Kwangsi province. The hsien recently has been
133 divided into three administrative areas, the third area being the concentration point of the Sheng Miao. [132] It is surrounded by a river of one hundred li, forming a natural barrier with the other areas. This river is called by the Sheng Miao "wu-niu," meaning a river belonging to the Sheng Miao. As the Sheng Miao within the third area never mix with the other groups and have always been an independent community, so the Chinese call the third district the Sheng Miao area. It consists of a long and broad strip of territory in the western half of Hsia-chiang, surrounded by high mountain cliffs and huge bamboo groves, forming a continuous and impassable barrier with only two entrances at Tsai-pien and Tung-lang, both narrow paths like sheep intestines. The backwardness of their civilization is due to such geographical isolation and their living conditions cannot be other than primitive.

The area of the Sheng Miao, according to their exaggerated account, extends to 9,000 li, but actually the area is about 200 [sq.] li in length and width. It is a mountainous area, the highest peak at Teng-k'ung-ming-t'ang being 2,000 meters, and the total population about 10,000. The writer has visited altogether
361 101 Sheng Miao villages of all sizes, the largest being Chia-lu, Chia-mien, Chia-ya, Chia-lung, Chia-wêng, Cheng-yu, Tang-wêng and Chüeh-ts'ai-p'ing, with about 100 families in each.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

CHAPTER XIX

INTO THE MEO COUNTRY

101 131 In the sense that least is known about them, the Meos are the most mysterious of the twelve principal races of Indo-China. This Mongolian people is to be found at altitudes higher than 3000 feet over the whole of Indo-China north of the 21st parallel of latitude. They are utterly incapable of bearing, even for the shortest time, other than cool and temperate climates. Being self-supporting, they rarely come down to visit the markets of the plains and valleys, and when obliged to cultivate fields below the 3000 feet line, they always return to their villages to sleep.

175 The Meos' territorial aspirations are purely vertical. By their disastrous method of cultivation, which completely exhausts the soil in a few years, they have been forced steadily southwards from China. In migration, as in the year 1860, when they crossed the frontier of Indo-China, they will fight their way savagely and effectively across low-lying country, only to split up and disperse immediately the mountains are reached. An ethnographical map of northern Indo-China is pock-marked with groups of Meos. Since 1860 they have travelled about 400 miles and are now filtering slowly southwards down the Annamite Chain, where from time to time a new group is reported on a mountain top. They are said to have been attacked in recent years by government forces in northern Siam, but it is unlikely that anything short of extermination can stop their slow, silent movement through the mountains. Europeans who have studied them superficially believe them to be of Esquimaux origin; a theory which is offered to explain their horror of warm climates. These authorities report that they possess legends of eternal snows and of arctic days and nights. But the short description published in 1906 by Commandant Lunet de Lajonquière says nothing of this, and no other scientific account of the Meos has appeared.

155: Abadie--159 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina
Miao AE5

[147] [Blank page in original text.]

[148]

CHAPTER IV

THE "MÉO" GROUP

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CHAPTER IV

THE "MÉO" GROUP

10| The name "Méo" is applied to the peoples of a very character-
13| istic type which inhabit the highest regions of Upper Tonkin.

The Chinese call the "Meo" "Miao-tseu," while often including them in the general designation of "Man" (rude barbarians).

In their dialects the "Méo" designate themselves by the name of "Mung."

In Tonkin, the various "Méo" tribes form a total of about
[161] 40,000 individuals, of whom the densest groupings are located in the regions of Dongvan, of Pakha, and of Muongkhuong where they constitute the majority of the population.

Other relatively important settlements of "Méo" are also found towards Upper Laos.

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[175] Like the other groups previously studied, the "Méo" have their origin in the mountainous regions of the south of China, from which they have been pushed back little by little towards the south by the Chinese pressure and expansion. There still exist in Yunnan and in Kweichow very important groupings of "Méo" whose numbers it has been impossible to estimate, even approximately. These groupings appear to have conserved a certain independence in the high valleys and mountains which form their habitat but continue to undergo the migratory movement which is pushing them towards the south.

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175 The groupings which have settled in Tonkin, while following the various mountainous ridges, have little by little spread themselves the length of the north and northwest frontiers as far as the great Annamite chain of mountains. This movement of [150] migration has most often taken a peaceful form, but several cases of violent invasion are reported, notably in the region of Dong-van at the beginning of the nineteenth century and towards 1860.

[150 cont.]

167 175 At the time of the first of these invasions, several thousands of "Meo," marching in a fighting body, devastated everything on their passage through southern Yunnan and made their way as far as Annamese territory (region of Dong-Van), whence they violently ejected the "Thai" and "Nan" groupings who were settled there.

The second invasion, that of 1860, of which the memory is still living in the hearts of many of the "Thai," was still more widespread than the preceding one and pushed far forward into the Annamese territories from Dong-Van and Quan-Ba as far as the neighborhood of Phu-Yen-Binh, after defeating the Annamese troops which attempted to stop it, and after spreading terror abroad by nameless atrocities.

This invasion was stemmed by troops which came from the Delta and were supported by numerous elephants. The latter threw [361] panic into the ranks of the "Méo," who sought refuge in the high mountains, where they are still established.

As has been said above, the "Méo" came to Tonkin long after 175 the "Thai" and the "Man." They have carried on with the latter groups numerous local fights for the possession of farming areas, struggles sometimes very violent and prolonged.

Stronger and more energetic than their adversaries, they would 147 perhaps have succeeded in chasing them completely from Upper 361 Tonkin if they had been able to acclimate themselves to the low alti- 175 tudes. But we have already seen in Chapter I that the "Méo" are unable to live in the low valleys and that their habitat is found to be confined to heights superior to 900 or 1,000 meters. Thanks to this physiological characteristic, "Thai" and "Man" have been able to re-enter into possession of the lands of which they had been momentarily ravished, and thus the existing echelonment of the various groups by successive altitudes was established: "Méo" in the high mountains; "Man" at the middle altitudes; "Thai" in the plains and the low, irrigated valleys.

According to a number of educated "Méo" or Chinese of the 101 region of Muongkhuong, with whom we have had very frequent conversations, the "Méo" form more than fifty different tribes, but they are represented in Tonkin only by certain members of these tribes:

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little [184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

142 The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature, robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the [147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well [163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate [165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare [143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

273 The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every opportunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts [164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

147 It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have 24/ carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not 36/ live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

157 The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage- 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

158: Diguet--127 G-3 (ca. 1895) 1908 AM1 Indochina
Y 420 AE6
773 M120 AE5

They know the legend of the flood which they end in a special manner: "The young sister married to her brother was sterile, and a spirit gave her eight beans so that by eating one bean each year she might have eight children. Overcome with happiness, she swallowed them all at once and was soon the mother of eight twins who were the founders of the eight Pa Teng families."

000 /128/ /A photograph entitled "Meo flutist" appears here. --Translator/

/129/

CHAPTER VII

THE MEO ETHNIC GROUP

Section 1

The Meo--Their Name--Their Origin and Immigrations. --Their Favorite Habitat

M
•101 The Meo are called by the Annamese by the name Man Meo (wild cat). The first of these words is the one under which they mingle all the mountaineers, and the second is applied especially to those who dwell on the highest peaks and have the reputation of climbing like cats. It seems preferable to designate this ethnic group simply by the second word and exclude the first. It will be better to reserve the latter for the Yao in order to avoid confusion between these very different groups. The Chinese call them Miao tse and they call themselves Mong.

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161 Their number may be estimated at 7 percent of the total population of the high region of Tonkin. The most important settlements
131 where they live are located: 1) on the Chinese frontier between Dongvan and Quanba, between Pakha and Muongkhuong; 2) on the right bank of the Red River, between Nghialo, Van Bu and Tu Le;
M and finally, 3) on the Black River, to the north of Vau Yen.

175 They immigrated into Tonkin relatively recently. At first they
167 migrated in two masses which invaded the Tonkinese mountains, throw-
131 ing everything into disorder during their passage, one mass at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the other about 1845, at the time of the Tai Ping rebellion. Tribes coming down towards the south, family by family, following the crests of the mountains, have

continued slow infiltration since that time. The second migration occurred in the form of a /130/ violent invasion whose floods descended as far as Phuyenbinh on the borders of the delta. The Meo, pushed back by the Annamese mandarins and also by the heaviness of the climate of the valleys, which they were unable to bear, withdrew towards the upper Claire River and settled upon the plateau of Quanba and of Dongquan. Here they made the peaceable inhabitants tremble under a yoke of domination which was as brutal as it was ephemeral. An enlightened individual named Sioung made himself noticed among the Meo because of his prodigious agility. He struck the imagination of his kinsmen by jumping in a single leap to the top of a mass of furniture that he had piled up several meters high, and proclaimed his own royalty from the top of this improvised tower supported by spirits' protection. From all of the areas roundabout they came to the mountain of Tang Chang (between Yenminh and Quanba) bringing him presents. Sioung became recognized as king under the title of Choen Tien, and had a palace built for himself surmounted by a tower called Long Vei (the dragon's throne). The Man and Nung joined with the Meo in accepting his rule, but the Tho, persisted in not recognizing him. The "King of the Meo" followed them with his hatred for twelve years. His father-in-law, whose daughter he had killed, resolved to avenge himself by killing this bloody tyrant. He sent ten Chinese friends of his to work as artists in the Palace of Sioung and the man was massacred by them a short time later.

The Chinese provinces inhabited at the present time by the Miao Tse are Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow. Therefore, without fear of error, we may consider these the countries of origin of the Tonkinese Meo and the reservoir from which their infiltrations will continue to flow.

The Meo ethnic group apparently is subdivided in China into seventy varieties, but the only ones found in Tonkin in groups of any considerable size are the White Meo, Red Meo, and Black Meo. As a matter of fact, this division into varieties is much less important here then among the Yao, where certain features of their customs, certain details in their religious rites, certain words of their language vary from one tribe to another. Among the Meo on the contrary, the differences are reduced to variations in details or in the colors of women's clothing.

/131/ As we have seen, the characteristic of the Meo is their

39: Bernatzik--6 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand A01
Miao AE5

/5 cont./

T 128 Vienna, but again the work suffered greatly as a result of the terminal fighting in 1945. This time, however, at least the composed type was saved along with the original drawings. Since Akha und Meau is a scientific work without political implications and therefore timeless, I can now present it to the reader without changes.

I am also indebted to Mrs. Maria von Mannstein who helped me with the final work on the manuscript and to Dr. Christl Arnold who made the indices. As soon as time and circumstances permit the present work is to be followed by two volumes in which I shall deal with the Lahu in Siam, whom I visited, and the Moi tribes in Indochina.

Dr. Hugo Adolf Bernatzik

Graz, in the fall of 1946.

/6/

Chapter 1

M 101

Derivation of the Names Akha and Meau

Much has been written by competent authors, some of it quite contradictory, on the meaning and origin of the name Meau.

Von Eickstedt (1) reports: "The name Miao, after appear-

ing once in the oldest literature (San-Miao), occurs only from the Sung Period. Before that, as far as we can see, the eastern groups of the Miao, who lived in Honan, were always designated as Man, the name which, before the Sung Period, was also used for the Yao. The western Miao seem to have been referred to by the name Fan."

Miao AES

/6 cont./

101 If one keeps it in mind that during my investigations in Farther India I discovered again and again that even today the valley peoples constantly confuse the Yau /Yao/ and Meau, although, especially in northern Thailand, for example, there are very pronounced differences even in externals between the two tribes, one cannot but assume that in former times the situation was no different in the Chinese territories. Credner (2) be-

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174

2. IV, p. 166.

lieves that the Meau were named after cats by the Chinese, an opinion which is also held by E. Lunet de Lajonquière (3), who

3. Page 296.

maintains that the word Meau is the Sino-Annamese pronunciation of a written character meaning "cat." According to him, however, the Meau call themselves "mung," or rather "h'mung." Marabail's accounts (4) also agree with these opinions: "In the

4. Page 451.

Annamese language, Meau means cat, perhaps because the dialect reminded the Chinese of the mewing of cats or because the Meau are actually as nimble as cats. One need only observe the /7/ suppleness with which they climb rocks." In referring to the tone color of the Meau language, Von Eickstedt (1) also

1. V, p. 53.

traces the name back to "cats" and calls the word onomatopoeic. He points out, however, that it might also characterize the catlike skill of the Meau in climbing their mountains; also, contemptuous expressions such as "despised like cats" may have played a role. On the other hand, the old Chinese historical work, Mong-tse, compares the language of the Meau with the howling or cry of the hyena.

/7 cont./

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174 In addition to the conclusions based on "cat" for the name Meau, there are attempts by others, for example, M. Terrien, to explain it on the basis of the agricultural activities of the Meau. To be sure, he points out that the ancient character for "Meau" represented a cat's head and was supposed to mean cat, because their highly vocalized language reminds one of the mewing of cats, but he further states that the ancient Sinologists translated "Miau-tse" as "son of the soil." But this, he says, was an error brought about by the modern analysis of Chinese writing. According to Terrien, the character for Meau consists of one part meaning "plant" and another meaning "field." In translating tse as "child," the meaning "son of the soil" resulted. Witek (2),

2. Page 38.

who has a different interpretation of the word, also discusses the undertone of contempt mentioned by Von Eickstedt (1) /see footnote 1 above/. According to Witek, the Chinese use Meau or Meau-tse to designate foreigners, that is, non-Chinese, and, to be sure, with reference to the "tillers of the soil," "the peasants," and therefore Meau-tse are the people of the soil, the farmers, who do not belong to the "Great Nation." Witek goes on to say that the Chinese give the word a certain contemptuous undertone in the sense of "boorish peasant" or "country bumpkin." Ordinarily, and especially if the word is supposed to have this meaning, the designation tse is added, hence Meau-tse. Imbert (3), at any rate, shares the opinion that the character

3. Page 3.

"Meau" corresponds to agriculture. Witek's (2) /see footnote 2 above/ information concerning the use of the expression Meau for all non-Chinese corresponds to the evidence of Schotter (4), who

4. Vol. III, p. 405.

points out that Meau can be used as an adjective and as a noun.

/7 cont./

101 174 According to him, it is often used in the latter sense in Kweichow to designate non-Chinese. /8/ Furthermore, Schotter is of the opinion that the words Yau and Meau have the same meaning and that Yau-Meau is merely the reduplication of one and the same expression. In the ancient Chinese legends he finds the expression Tche-Yeau as the name of the chief of eighty-one brothers, by which the tribes of the Meau are to be understood. And in fact, according to Wieger (1), Ch'ih'yu was

1. Page 10.

the leader of the Meau when the latter were decisively beaten near Cho-Chon by the Chinese under the leadership of Huan-Yuan (Huang-ti). Although the Meau and Yau are undoubtedly two altogether different peoples, Schotter's attempted derivation of the name Tche-Yeau is still possible. Finally, as Savina (2)

2. II, p. 175.

states, according to P. Wieger, the word Meau means "rice planter," an interpretation which, all things considered, seems to be more plausible than the derivation from "cat."

101 The Meau are given different names by the various peoples and tribes with whom they come into contact. According to Witek (3), the Thai of Kweichow call them Yeou; in South

3. Page 44.

China they are said to be called Mro; in Tonkin and French Laos, however, Mang, Mong, M'long, and finally H'mong, which is what they call themselves. In the Meau language this latter expression means simply "human being," a designation that would correspond to those of many other peoples. The Siamese, Lao, Kamuk, Yau, Schan /Shan/, and Tin call them Meau, the Chinese, Méaotsé. The Meau in Thailand call themselves "Moñ." Accordingly, the groups of White Meau which I investigated were called "Moñ kleo"; the Black Meau, "Moñ klü."

39: Bernatzik--27 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/19 cont./

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Savina (2) writes that in the first centuries of Chinese history they had waged war in the basin of the Yellow River as well as in the basin of the Hoai. He says that since it is a fact that they had settlements along the lower course of the /20/ Yellow River in Honan at the time of Hoang-ti, the Meau there can be traced back about twenty-five centuries before our era. Marabail (1), too, relies on ancient sources and reports: "In

2. II, p. vii.

1. Page 133.

his book, Ouen Hieng-Tong-Kao, Ouang-Ki, who lived in the sixteenth century, says: 'These people are descended from ancient tribes who are called San-Meau and who are already mentioned in the Chou-King. They are very numerous in Tschang-Cha, in the provinces of Youen and Chin, and to the south in the Ye-Lang country, where the Chinese call them Nam-Man, i.e., southern barbarians.'"

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Savina (2) reports further that five centuries after the time of Hoang-ti Chinese historical writing is silent about the Meau in the basin of the Yellow River. Other Chinese sources, however, report that these Meau were pushed toward the bend of the Yellow River in the direction of present-day Chensi and Kansu. The Meau from the basin of the Hoai, however, crossed the Blue River /Yangtze/ migrated toward the Tungting and Poyang Lakes, wandered as nomads in Hou-Pé, Kiangsi, and Honan, reached the mountains that separate the basin of the Blue River from that of the West River, and finally came to Kweichow from where the Chinese have not been able to expel them up to the present time. Von Eickstedt (3) also opposes

2. II, p. vii.

3. III, p. 4.

/20 cont./

175 the view often held by the Chinese that the Meau were located
648 only in present-day Kweichow and therefore remote from the ancient China of Hsia and Shang. He points out that the assertion of the Schui-djing-dschu (sixth century B.C.) that San-Wei was located on the upper course of the Wei-Ho is very plausible. The Meau of the Hsia are submerged under the term "western barbarians" or under the names of widely dispersed groups of Tibetan affinity, such as the Tjang. After this it is not until the Tang and Sung Periods (816 to 907 and 960 to 1279, respectively) that the foreign peoples who live in western Szechwan and eastern Tibet, but also far into Kweichow, again emerge. Thus they already appear in the nuclear area of the present-day Meau, but still retain those regions through which the ancient San-Meau must have passed during their southward infiltration. The author continues: "Actually, with San-Miau, Tjiang, Fan, and Miao, this brings about, step by step and with extensive overlapping, a southward shift of tribal /21/ names whose ethnic substratum is most closely related. Since the Sung
● [101] Period, however, the name Miau has been applied to a definite tribal group which is now found chiefly in Kweichow."

131 Today, these Meau in Kweichow are split into two large
175 surviving blocks. The Chinese administration there can best
648 be described as a kind of protectorate. Even today, however, the Meau exist as an independent nationality, and this after four thousand years of historically confirmed struggles and continual repulsion (1). Retaining Kweichow as their settlement area,

1. Von Eickstedt, III, p. 16.

they gradually spread into the neighboring provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung in the south and into the provinces of Szechwan in the north and Yunnan in the west, as well as into Indochina (Tonkin), Thailand, and Burma. Savina comes to the conclusion that the present-day Meau in Tonkin came from Yunnan, but those in Laos from Tonkin. He says that the latter steadily pursued their way to the south and today have reached the twentieth degree of northern latitude in the Annamese Corderilla.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

M /23 cont./
174 to Stübel, on the other hand, their clothing is identical with
[197] that of the Meau of Kwangsi.

Summarizing, it may be said with Von Eickstedt that the
M Meau come from the high-mountain steppes where Tibet,
174 Mongolia, and Old China converge, perhaps even from Siberia.
131 The majority of the Meau today live in two large, compact
[101] groups, separated from one another, in Kweichow; vast numbers of them are also settled in the neighboring provinces of Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Szechwan, and especially in Yunnan. Considerable groups have also occupied Tonkin as far as the Annamese Cordillera, and others entered Thailand, where they reached the central cordillera at 16° 15' north latitude. /24/ During the past decades advance units of these people have also entered Burma. On the other hand, it has not been unequivocally determined whether Meau are actually found among the mountain peoples of the island of Hainan; if this should be the case, however, they would not have reached the island in the course of a natural migration, but would have been settled there forcibly by the Chinese. In accordance with geographical and population-political possibilities, the migratory movement necessarily always proceeded from the north to the south and has not yet ceased even today.

M A great number of Meau, perhaps even the larger half,
174 were forced by the most severe political pressure to give up their allegiance to tribal customs and, with the loss of their cultural and ethnic identity, have been absorbed by the neighboring tribes. Undoubtedly the Chinese especially have absorbed much Meau blood. The culture of the ancient Meau was presumably an element which, among others, formed the foundation for the building of the Chinese high culture.

A As for the original homeland of the Akha, Davies (1) and
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1. Page 395.

the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (2), as well as Heine-Geldern (3),

2. Part I, p. 590.

39: Bernatzik--39 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AC1 Thailand
Miss AE5

/26 cont./

137 The flora varies according to the fertility of the soil.
134 The forested mountains of Farther India are densely covered with vegetation, whereas the highland of Kweichow is described as a barren open, and hilly land, whose soil composition is such that only one-fifth of the country seems to be suitable for human habitation (1). Kengtung is similar in appearance to

1. Von Eickstedt, V, p. 53.

133 Kweichow. The state lies in the extreme eastern part of Burma and borders on Yunnan in the north, on Thailand in the south; on the west it is bounded by the Salween River, on the east by the Mekong. The province of Kengtung, with its capital of the same name, is a mighty plateau, often bare and rocky, which /27/ rises from altitudes of 300 meters in the area of the Salween to altitudes of 3,000 meters between the Salween and the city of Kengtung.

137 Where the area has been inhabited by mountain tribes for a long time, the lofty forest has disappeared, since the hoe [241] culture with the burning of clearings during the short fallow period prevents the growth of larger trees. The region is therefore completely covered with low, dense bush forest, in which fast-growing types of wood are greatly predominant.

361 It is a very peculiar fact that, as was pointed out, the mountain tribes seem to be bound to a definite altitude and cannot be persuaded to go below a certain altitude limit. This fact is often confirmed in the literature. Lajonquière (1), for

1. II, p. 305.

instance, points out that the Meau select the terrain quite high in the mountain massifs at the foot of rocks as places for their hamlets; Abadie (2) likewise reports similarly. We are

2. Page 158.

[101] indebted to Credner (3) for a more detailed account: "Above

/27 cont./

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3. IV, pp. 137, 138.

the level of the forest hoe-culture tribes there is the elevation of the mountain tribes... Having come from the north they stay in areas where the climate corresponds most closely to that of their countries of origin, that is, at altitudes up to 2,600 meters... The Thai tribes stayed in the lowest parts of the country. Their counterparts in the high areas are the migratory mountain tribes, who, as the most recent arrivals from the north, are gradually occupying the settlement-free space in the peaks of the mountains. They are the Tibeto-Burman Lahu and Lisu and the Siamo-Chinese Miao and Yao(4).

4. Credner, IV, p. 147.

Von Eickstedt (5) writes: "The Chinoisants (among whom

5. VI, p. 54.

he includes the Meau, note by Dr. Bernatzik) are the masters of the mountains and are spreading. The Monkhmer Ka /Mon-Khmer Kha/ live on the wooded slopes, but are shot off by the Chinoisants and pushed aside by the Lao. The latter, in turn, live a few altitude levels lower, preferring the rice fields of the smaller valleys, whereas, finally, the Annamites and Chinese occupy the large troughs of the base centers lying in the lowermost valleys."

361 Savina (6) likewise deals with the habitation areas of the

6. II, pp. 173 ff.

Meau and concomitantly with their reasons for choosing the high altitudes: /28/ "The customary habitation sites of the Meau are the mountains. Only on the heights are they in their element; elsewhere they are rootless and do not feel comfortable."
[174] ..."However far one traces the history back into prehistory, one always finds them in the mountains. In the course of time this
½ [i.e. "Killed off" - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--434 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Mico AE5

/321 cont./

291 The skirt of the "White" Meau shows the same form, but
184 is completely white. They also sometimes wear blouses made
[101] of white undyed material, which is probably why they are called "White Meau."

291 The third piece of clothing of the women, the dark-blue
531 apron, is usually about 20 centimeters longer than the skirt or even reaches down to the ankles. It has the width of a woven strip and in addition is provided with richly embroidered bands. Each apron band consists of a part with colorful patches of cloth sewed on and a broad sash of red cretonne, which is wound twice around the waist and tied in the back (Ill. 58). Every apron-band pattern (Colored Plate III, No. 2, and Colored Plate IV, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6) has a different name. For instance, the pattern in Colored Plate IV, No. 2 is called the "firefly," and No. 6 of Colored Plate IV is called the "snail pattern." Here the spirals are embroidered in yellow, blue, and green silk in small chain-stitches on red material. The first and third parts of the apron band in Colored Plate III, No. 2, consist of a blue background-material on which little white patches are sewed. On these in turn red and green triangles are embroidered in silk. The middle part is made in the same way, except that here a red background-material is used. This mixed technique of appliqué work and silk embroidery is also used in other apron-band patterns. The workday aprons usually have only plain blue or red bands.

854 The child-carriers customary among the Meau exhibit
482 the same form and execution (Colored Plate II, No. 11). Their use is apparent from Ill. 66.

291 The turban of the women (Colored Plate II, No. 1, and
531 Ills. 60 and 61) consists of two to six pieces of cloth, depending on the wealth and vanity of the wearer and whether or not
[552] it is a matter of festive attire. In any case, the most important
[295] piece of the turban is a dark-blue strip of cloth about three meters long, the ends of which are provided with cross-stitch embroidery (Colored Plate III, No. 5). It is wound around the head in such a way that the embroidered ends project to the left and right (Colored Plate II, No. 1). Over this first piece

/452 cont./

162 Meau now live on the Tran-Ninh Plateau, which forms the
131 bridge from Tonkin to Laos (Vientiane). He estimates them, with 20,000 persons in round figures, as about a third of the population of the district.

According to Lajonquière (3), the Meau in "Tonkin

3. II, pp. 296 and 297.

septentrional" always constitute significant population groups. In the region of Dongvan, Yen-Minh, Quan-Ba, on the one hand, and the region of Pakha, Muong-Khuong, they are the most numerous population, and to be sure 9,920 Meau as against 7,240 members of other ethnic groups live in the first region, and 5,984 Meau live among 5,540 persons of other tribes in the second.

According to Abadie (4), the various Meau tribes in

4. Page 149.

Tonkin add up to about 40,000 individuals, with the strongest groups found in the region of Dongvan, Pakha, and Muong-Khuong, areas in which they form the majority of the population. Other relatively /453/ important Meau groups are encountered in Upper Laos. Savina (1), on the other hand, speaks of 200,000

1. II, p. 193.

Meau for the Tonkin and Laos region.

●101 The statements in the literature vary greatly concerning
162 the number of the different Meau tribes. Jaeger (2) mentions

2. Page 272.

61 tribes in one album. There is a great number of such albums whose year of origin as well as author are for the most part unknown. In them, too, the number of Meau tribes given varies considerably.

Miao AE5

/453 cont./

● 101 162 Bridgman (3) speaks of 82 different "sketches," an

3. Pages 257 ff.

expression that is used by him for tribes. The same number is also mentioned by Li-Tsung-fang (4) and Schotter (5), and the

4. Ch. 3, p. 9b.

5. Vol. III, p. 405.

latter also reports an album in the possession of a mandarin, in which 108 Meau tribes are said to be mentioned. Schotter adds, however, that this number is a sacred Buddhist number. Since otherwise nothing is known about this album mentioned by Schotter, his information at first glance seems to be of little significance. Now, however, Chang-Kong-Chiu has published an album in which the author adds explanations concerning "The Culture of the Miao-tse, according to Older Chinese Sources." This interesting work shows that undoubtedly a number of mountain peoples were classified by the Chinese with the Meau, who in an ethnological sense have little or nothing to do with them. Marabail (6), too, confirms that this is the case: "The famous

6. Page 133.

Tsai-Chen (1167 to 1230) in his commentary of the second part [175] of the Chou-King seems to believe that the Meau are the same as the Yau, for the prisoners who at that time were taken from among the Yau /Yao/ of Hou-Nan usually called themselves Meau."

The Chinese classification and the resulting variation in the number given for the Meau tribes are understandable, however, if one keeps in mind that "Meau-tse" referred to all non-Chinese (see the chapter, "Derivation of the Names Akha and Meau"). At any rate, the ethnologist can only set up uncertain hypotheses as long as the affiliation and identification of the individual tribes is uncertain.

Miao AE5

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Witek (7) tries to find distinguishing marks for the in-

7. Page 45.

dividual tribes /454/ of the Meau and mentions, for instance, the differences in the clothing of the White and Black Meau or refers to the skin color or the "barbarity" (in contrast to the "refinement") as distinguishing features. Moreover, he quotes Liétard, who for his part draws on social stratification for the differentiation. Other authors, too, have sought to determine the number of Meau tribes both generally and for their narrower area of study. Maurice Abadie (1), for instance, says that there

1. Page 150.

are more than 50 different Meau tribes, but in his smaller area of study, Tonkin, only five tribes. Lajonquière (2) states: "The

2. II, p. 301.

Meau are said to be divided into 70 tribes in their narrower homeland. In Tonkin, however, we can find only a far smaller number of tribes." The missionary, P. Proux, whom Schotter refers to as an authority, speaks of 30 different tribes in Kweichow, and a Chinese author, of 39.

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Scott (3), on the other hand, comes to the conclusion

3. II, p. 598.

that there are three principal tribes of the Meau, which are called the Red, the White, and the Black Meau by the Chinese. The differences are said to lie in the clothing and in the language. This difference in language in turn is disputed by Savina (4), who divides the Meau into six large and four or five

4. II, p. 187.

/454 cont./

101 small tribes, about a dozen in all. Then he goes on to say:
162 "We are far from the 40 or more tribes which some like to
291 enumerate." According to him, the tribes differ only in the
184 color and form of the clothing, to the peculiarity of which the names White, Black, Yellow, Green, Striped Meau, and Meau With Horns are to be traced back. The name of the last-named tribe is said to be derived from the horn-shaped hairdo. Otherwise, each tribe is said to have special customs and a language only somewhat divergent. Seidenfaden (5), too, says that the

5. II, p. 101.

Meau tribes differ from one another principally in the attire of the women.

101 If some authors report a strikingly large number of Meau
162 tribes, there can be no doubt that they included other mountain
114 peoples, for example, the Yau, Lisu, and perhaps the Lolo tribes, with the Meau. This problem, however, cannot be finally settled until ethnographic fieldwork, for Kweichow at any rate, is completed, at least in broad outlines, /455/ for the investigation of the mountain peoples of South China has not yet gone beyond the first beginnings.

101 According to my own experience, in the case of the vari-
162 ous Meau tribes it is only a matter -- at least in Thailand -- of
291 very slight differences in the clothing of local groups, which
184 cannot by any means be regarded as independent tribes. Moreover, tribal names seem to have developed from nicknames which were given to individual Meau sibs. Such nicknames cannot, of course, be given the value of a true tribal designation.

In Thailand I myself had the opportunity to investigate three of the so-called Meau tribes, the White, the Black, and the Flowery Meau. My Lao informants tried to explain the name of the Black Meau by the lack of cleanliness of these families in particular. This did not correspond with the facts, however, inasmuch as the cleanliness among all the Meau tribes known to me leaves much to be desired, and the "White Meau" do not distinguish themselves in any way by special cleanliness. At

AKha A04
Miao AE5

M 101 162 291 184 [582] A 131 162 [167]

/455 cont./ any rate, it turned out that the "Black" and the "Flowery Meau" are identical with the "White Meau" and actually differ only in that the women of the one Meau wear dark-blue skirts with stylized floral patterns in batik work, while those of the other Meau wear white skirts. Neither in the language nor in any racial or cultural element did further differences come to light. For judging the matter it seems to me to be especially decisive that the tribal endogamy which is otherwise strictly observed in practice does not apply between these three Meau tribes; thus, Black and White Meau may freely intermarry.

The Akha, too, like the Meau, reached the region inhabited by them today only in the course of their wandering. Among them, too, their continuous migratory movement obstructs any demographic coverage. With respect to Burma, the Gazetteer of Upper Burma (1) of the year 1900 stated that the

1. Vol. I, p. 588.

Akha belonged among the most numerous and most widespread mountain peoples of Kengtung. This supposedly could be stated positively for the eastern uplands. At any rate, they were supposed to be a people more numerous than most of their neighbors. Telford (2) /456/ considers them the numerically strongest

2. Page 90.

mountain people in the state of Kengtung and states that their homeland, like that of the Katschin /Kachin/ and Lahu, was China. Consequently, they are of "Mongolian origin."

The census of the state of Kengtung gives for the year 1931 12,968 Akha (6,484 houses). It is certain that only a part of that portion of the people living in Kengtung is included in this figure. The official Burma Census Rep. (1) of the same year

1. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 183.

gives 40,407 Akha for Burma as against 34,265 individuals in

101 [167] Still another Yunnan tribe, the Miao (tse), which is also found frequently in Laos, has migrated to Kengtung--1911: 646 (20). The

20. About their relation to the Mon-Khmer, good material by H.R. Davies, Yün-nan (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 337 ff. About their housing construction: UBG I, 1, pp. 599 ff. Other ethnological material with good illustrations by S.R. Clarke, Among the Tribes in South-West China (London, 1911) and by A. Schotter, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus du Kouy-tcheou (Chine)," /Ethnographique Notes on the Kweichow Tribes (China)/ Anthropos Vol. 3 ff. who considers the Yao (cf. above, fn. 19) as a subdivision of the Miao Anthropos Vol. 4, pp. 318 ff.; cf. 3, p. 405.

people excel in their clothing, architecture, and household management through outstanding
342 cleanliness and neatness. Their houses in the British-Burmese area where, being immigrants, they certainly do not represent their complete, original type, are built much better and stronger than those of the neighboring people. Wherever they are not made of mud (this seems to be the older, original construction method) /214/ the houses are built with strong wood and shingled roofs and have mud or stone terraces. Sometimes they are built on piles. The pile house has certainly developed under the influence of the building style of the Burmese countries. The interior is much more carefully furnished than are the Burmese houses. In the large rooms; which
[352] are divided by small walls into compartments, are bamboo bedsteads, couches, and low chairs, mats and furs. An attic is formed by a ceiling